

INDIVIDUAL, FAMILY, AND CLAN

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There is also in some tribes a brief seclusion preparatory to initiation. But the essential features may all be gathered under the above five headings. A full treatment of them is reserved to Chapter XII. 881

It is normally after initiation that the youth proceeds to marriage, and thereafter he follows the even tenor of his way to old age. There are no striking social changes after marriage. In the normal instance the father lives in his village and brings up a family and grows old working. If he be a man of character his influence will probably increase with his years; and whether this be so or not, he is reasonably assured—by a pleasing trait of primitive life—of the respect and consideration of his juniors. 885 •

The Constitution of the Clan

Having dealt with the immediate family and given an epitome of the social progress of the individual, I may proceed to the constitution of the clan. 614

Although the clan is a fairly well-defined group, it is difficult to find a satisfactory native name for it in the abstract. Among the Aiga the nearest approach seems to be the expression *embo-javo*, lit. 'man-name'; but this might stand in another context for the man's personal name. Among the Binandele there is a more definite term *oro-be*, 'the true oro' (the usual meaning of *oro* is men's house). In the Sangara dialect a word *araba* stands for either a village clearing or a clan. In the absence of a suitable native name I shall continue to use the word 'clan'.

The Formation of New Clans. The Orokaiva clan is patriarchal in constitution; it develops directly from the family in which the father is undisputed master. The clans vary greatly in size, but for the most part they are small; one of a dozen families might represent the average.

Consequently they are very numerous, and, as each and every one shows a tendency to split, they are not decreasing in number. Indeed, at the present time, when pacification has made it less essential to cling together for protection, it is possible there are more clans than ever before.

155 threatening that she would never again let him come to her breast. But as a rule
862 the biting lesson seems to be learned easily, and mothers appear to have very little trouble with children biting them during the prolonged lactation.

155 The second conflict situation is the one induced by the adult men deliberately
866 provoking fright in the small boy. The boy has to grow up to be fearless. Before the pacification of the Orokaiva and the surrounding tribes, this was part of the training of boys to be warriors. Ultimately, after being frightened by the men quite frequently over a couple of years or so, the boy is no longer afraid. But, in the meantime, his world is uncertain and conflicting. He learns to keep close to his father, so that he can rush to him if someone frightens him, and this association with his father continues long after he overcomes his fear of strange men making strange noises. It does not seem to occur to the child to run for comfort in these circumstances to his mother.

Initiation into Adulthood.

881 The initiatory rites are clearly divided into three major parts—the terror, the
[783] seclusion and the investiture. The initiation of a girl does not encompass all of these. At puberty she is secluded for a time, and then goes through a little purificatory ritual before ceremonially emerging from her seclusion. She does not have to endure the terror.

[778] What I have termed "the terror" is what F. E. Williams refers to as the
534 "initiation ceremony proper."⁸ After being secluded for a short time, the candidates emerge and are shown the bullroarers and sacred flutes. Then the *embahi* (malevolent spirits) appear to them by moonlight and chase them around the village. The boys' parents cry out to the spirits to spare their children and not to devour them, but the *embahi* rush around crying out, "Kambo, kambo, kambo!" (Bite, bite, bite!). The boys are well aware that the *embahi* are a sham, and that they are really only fellow-villagers in disguise, but they are terrified none the less. Eventually, the *embahi* allow the boys' parents to overpower them and chase them from the village.

After they have undergone the "terror," the boys are secluded in the *oro* ("men's house"). "... During this period, they are instructed to be honest, obliging and diligent." They learn to play the flutes, and they plait armlets; otherwise they are inactive. Food is served to them by some old men. The boy's *nobo* (mother's brother), who has appeared as one of the *embahi* then returns to the village, divested of his frightening make-up, to lead the boy to the *oro* for his seclusion, and is responsible for feeding him during this period.

[523] The final phase of the initiation is the boy's emergence from his seclusion. Like
665 the girl on her emergence, he goes through a purificatory ritual. Then he is fitted with the *hokumbari* (feather headdresses), the wearing of which is a demonstration of his manhood. Again, it is the *nobo* (mother's brother) who presents him with the